# FELLOWSHIP

February 1943 Vol. IX—No. 2

From the murmur and subtlety of suspicion
With which we vex one another
Give us rest.
Make a new beginning
And mingle again the kindred of the nations in
The alchemy of love.
And with some finer essence of forbearance
Temper our mind.

— ARISTOPHANES.

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## Europe on Armistice Day

by

HIRAM MOTHERWELL

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

# John Haynes Holmes

I

WE pacifists, in the eyes of the world, live under many serious reproaches, and none more serious than that of standing apart from the great body of mankind. If ever there was a time when all of us should join together to bear the common burden, to meet the common danger, to share the common responsibility, it would seem to be now when the life and liberty of the nation are at stake. Yet it is just in this crisis that we step aside. Other men buy War Bonds, but we do not. Millions of citizens labor in munition factories, and in other ways make direct or indirect contribution to the war effort, but we refrain. Other millions take up arms, and many thousands of them will lay down their lives in battle, but we seek and accept exemption from military service that guarantees us security at home. What can save us from the shame of the famous French knight in the days of Henry of Navarre who was met by his king, returning from the wars, with the stinging taunt, "Go hang yourself, brave Crillon! We fought at Arques, and you were not there."?

II

It will be agreed that fellowship is the central truth of life, the essence alike of morals and religion; and that the maintenance of fellowship is our primary duty. The men of the Mayflower, in the famous voyage across the Atlantic, signed a compact binding themselves to stay together when they landed, and not to go wandering off, singly or in small groups, into the wilderness. This they did as an expression of their fidelity to God and to each other, and as the sole means of securing the safety of their community. Fellowship is the sacred word—the golden text of faith. "Fellowship is life," writes William Morris, in *The Dream of John Ball,* "and lack of fellowship is death; fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is hell; and the things which ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye shall do them."

To break fellowship with men is perhaps the most serious thing that we can do. To step aside or apart is to cut the tissue of the organism of which we are all members one with another. Such a step can be justified only on the basis of some moral principle which allows of no compromise. Separatism, that is, must spring not from any mere intellectual differences of opinion, but only from an issue of right and wrong so imperative as to lay a mandate upon the soul. In this sense, it must be a revolt "for fellowship's sake," i.e., in the interest of the wider and inclusive fellowship of men that is being ignorantly or wantonly violated by some minor and divisive influence. War is the perfect example of what I mean. War is essentially disruptive. It is destructive of every concept of unity and concord. It tears into pieces the seamless fabric of the world. Its logic is first the devastation and finally the destruction of humanity. Follow war through to its ultimate conclusion, and all of us not dead would become as savages, with each man's hand raised fatally against his brother. If we refuse our country's command to fight and kill, and therewith alienate ourselves from the great body of our citizens, it is because we would not be guilty of any share in this great sacrilege. We would be faithful to that higher fellowship of men that is the Kingdom of God, and therewith be loyal to nothing less than all mankind. Which means that we are maintaining fellowship, that universal fellowship of the spirit without which man must perish.

III

There remains none the less the tragedy of our separation, for however fundamental a course, from the immediate body of our fellows. We are cut off from our country—and the Kingdom has not yet come! Few of us are willing to consent to this utterly. We don't propose to become exiles, or eremites, or solitaries of any kind, least of all to commit that final act of loneliness which is suicide. We are going to live with our fellow men, and to that end will seek to multiply points of contact. Just because of our isolation on this one issue of war, we will go out of our way to clasp hands and hearts on all other matters of human interest. We will conform to the utmost limit of common action, that we may not be put down as cranks, or fanatics, or "odd sticks," but recognized, on this great pacifist question, as men and women moved by a tragic but terrible necessity of moral principle. Theodore Parker, the outstanding theological heretic of his day, always wore the customary clerical garb of black broadcloth and black silk tie. Asked why, by an extreme unbeliever, he replied, "Because it comforts me to be like my fellow ministers in this matter if in no other."

It is for this reason that I am tempted to weep when I see pacifists going off on to all kinds of intellectual and social tangents of non-conformity that have nothing to do with the war-and-peace issue. Especially am I tempted to weep when I see conscientious objectors confusing their magnificent moral stand against the taking up of arms with recalcitrance and rebellion on matters of relative insignificance. I would have the conscientious objector punctiliously conventional in all the familiar ways of life. I would have him accept not only willingly, but gladly, whatever discomforts, humiliations, frustrations his lot may bring upon him. He should be the easiest man in the world to get along with: always a "hail fellow, well met," a man who plays the game, one ever gentle, patient, considerate, and cooperative. Faithful even unto death to Jesus' commandments "resist not evil," "love your enemies," "turn to him the other cheek," this conscientious objector should be equally faithful to that other commandment of the Master, also to be found in the Sermon on the Mount, "Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art with him in the way." Agree in everything spiritually possible, that there may be no unnecessary separation. For it is our business not to be angry with our brother, but reconciled to him, that fellowship may not fail.

All this, in the case of the pacifist, for its own sake, and that the witness against war may not be clouded!


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# FELLOWSHIP

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**What will happen in devastated Europe when the war finally ends? What specific situations will confront the would-be peacemakers? Here a correspondent of long experience analyzes the probabilities in**

# Europe on Armistice Day*

By HIRAM MOTHERWELL

ON armistice day most of Europe will consist not of nations but of hundreds of millions of hungry, bewildered, desperate people. In most countries there will not be any effective governments with which to make peace.

That is the first fact that will confront any attempt to achieve peace. Our United Nations will not be free, at first, to do what merely ought to be done. They will have to concentrate on doing the things that urgently have got to be done.

All "peace plans" and "blueprints for reconstruction" hitherto, so far as I am aware, have assumed the cooperation of stable and willing governments. But such governments cannot come into being until the appallingly complex job of reconstruction, social and economic, has been accomplished. Without that no plan for a lasting peace will have a chance.

There are many things about the post-war situation that are unpredictable. But unfortunately this can be predicted with utter certainty: the impoverishment and disintegration of Europe.

Total war means concentration—of everybody and everything in the nation—on fighting. It is waged in all dimensions at once—the length and breadth dimensions of military warfare and industrial production; the "thickness" dimension of morale, involving total regimentation of education and will and belief to the service of the totalitarian armies; and a kind of fourth dimension, the invisible loyalties and assumptions and habits which enable people to go about their daily business. This fourth dimension includes a multitude of normal certainties, such as that your bank has assets, that the goods you order will be delivered, that if you go to the theater tonight you won't be arrested between the acts, that your pastor is an honorable man, that the corporation in which you own stock enjoys certain business privileges and legal protections. In total warfare all such invisible certainties are twisted or obliterated, along with the liberties of thought and conscience and the freedom to do what you please with your person and your money.

In a totalitarian war it is the military police power that keeps all the social and economic dynamics driving to one objective. When that vanishes with the distintegration of the defeated armies, the repressed energies of the nation shoot off in all directions at once. Defeat is total defeat in all four dimensions. The social and economic structure explodes into fragments.

## Realities of Armistice Day

Over how much of Nazi-controlled Europe this armistice-day anarchy will prevail it is impossible to predict. The probability is that few portions of the Continent (always excepting such neutrals as may remain) will escape. And even the presence of United Nations armies cannot do much to mitigate it.

The European revolutions of October and November, 1918, were managed largely by parades. There was very little shooting but a great deal of shouting. This time, once the collapse of the Nazi armies appears certain, the change-over will be effected by knife and machine-gun.

Presently the people will wake up to find themselves without government. For all government has already been abolished except what the Nazis and their Quislings have imposed. On or about armistice day these will be booted out or liquidated, including the directing heads of the technical and civil services. The local police will not know whom to obey. Many of them, who have served the Nazis too faithfully, will become victims of personal vengeance. Many may themselves join the insurrection.

Unquestionably committees of politicians will spring up, both nationally and locally, claiming to be the legitimate government—several such committees at once, in fact. But these cliques cannot govern in such anarchy; they are more likely to use their forces in fighting one another. The

* From the forthcoming book, *The Peace We Fight For*, courtesy Harper and Brothers.

building of new, effective governments out of chaos will be a matter of many months or years. One experienced European correspondent anticipates a year of civil war in France, with the United Nations helpless to stop it. Worse may happen elsewhere.

Food during the war has been rationed to all. But when government authority dissolves there will be no one to guarantee distribution; there will be no one even to see that the cities and towns receive a share of such small stocks as are left. It will be literally true, over most of Europe, that no one can know where his next meal is coming from.

The shops will be empty of consumers' goods. Their windows will be decorated with pretty beribboned boxes, but inside nothing to buy. At home—in nearly every home in Europe—there will be only scraps of food or fuel, and not much of anything else. Soap, thread, washrags, writing-paper, toothbrushes, thimbles, handkerchiefs, hairpins, bedsheets, haircombs, scissors—all worn out and irreplaceable or in the last stages of their usefulness.

The farmers will not bring their food to the town market any more. At sunrise a few carts of potatoes may arrive, to be rifled in two minutes by the first of the mob of waiting housewives. A few more may straggle in, and then after hours of waiting nine-tenths of the women will trudge home with empty baskets.

Then word may spread that the peasants have hidden on their farms food which can be bought for a price. Thousands will jam the railway stations. Few of them will buy tickets. They will crash the gates and wait. Then they will discover that transportation, for all practical purposes, has ceased to exist. The schedule of trains will have been cut down to a handful a day. The eight A.M. local may arrive at four P.M. or never. If it does turn up, it may chug along at five miles an hour, with endless stops while the trainmen wait for signals or scatter into the fields to gather firewood for the engine. Most of the passengers will have to stand, sixty or a hundred to a coach. Few freight trains will pass them on the tracks, for war works terrific havoc on rolling stock. When the city locusts at last scatter over the farms they will discover that the peasants have nothing to sell for city money. For this money will buy nothing in the towns—no cloth or farm tools or kitchen things. If only they had brought with them the hoarded bolt of cotton or the old saw, they could have bought barley meal and eggs and perhaps even a chicken. Useful *things* will be the only good money.

With the dissolution of authority, prices will have taken a jack-in-the-box leap out of their Nazi-repressed inflation. Wages no longer will mean anything in purchasing power. Workers will go on strike for a fourfold increase in pay. The credit of the self-proclaimed governments will be nonexistent. Their ability to redeem their notes has depended on the financial backing of the Nazi regime in Berlin, which will no longer be there; their power to collect taxes will be hazy. There will be no money, so they will print it. And the cities will print money, too. So will the big factories and public services. They will call it fractional currency, and it will become fractional quickly enough as prices soar. Last time, in 1919, money depreciated in some relation to the artificial bank credits which had been pyramided to finance the war. This time it will swoop straight down with the collapse of the Nazi flim-flam which calls itself the banking system of the New Order.

Perhaps the most difficult thing for us to imagine about armistice-day Europe is the fact that the concept of property will have vanished. Europeans will really own only what they physically possess and occupy and can defend with their own meat axes and revolvers. Property "rights" as such will evaporate. Stocks and bonds have already been sucked into Nazi corporations whose assets consist solely of paper deposited in Berlin—obligations to be honored only if and when the German armies win the war. Banks' reserves are secured by tribute receivable, which will never be collected; bank deposits wither away with inflation. Mortgages become worthless as money loses its value. Deeds and titles executed for years past will become morally valueless because they have been issued by Quisling functionaries acting "legally" under Nazi duress. There will be no commercial bank credit, no dependable currency in which to issue loans. Things may be bought only with things in hand. Loans will be made only against commodities in storage. Commerce and finance will be reduced to the level of the sidewalk market and the pawnshop.

## Raw Materials Famine

Virtually all raw materials and scrap for the restarting of industry will exist only in famine quantities, and will huddle in a few places, with transportation unavailable for getting them to where the factories can use them. Each district, each city, will try to hold on to the stocks within its borders in a desperate effort to get its own industries going first, or hoard them to sell at exorbitant figures to outside bidders. In the universal scramble for wheat, coal, electric power, scrap metal, gasoline, timber, rubber substitutes, machine parts, alcohol, and the thousand other things that feed industry, every temporary makeshift government that can command any kind of police power will be on its own, bargaining or fighting against every other.

Among the few things that Mars will have left too much of will be weapons. The Gestapo cannot today spot more than a few of them, but on armistice day they will come out of hiding all over Europe, or be looted from arsenals or distributed by returning soldiers. The United Nations occupation forces cannot quickly do much of anything about that situation. Millions of Europeans will possess small arms, ranging from old pistols to tommy guns, and will have in mind somebody they intend to shoot. There will be home defense squads, citizens' police forces, municipal battalions to requisition food from the farms, and farmers' battalions to resist the marauding city folk. There will be militias—community, conservative, patriotic, trade-union, racial—most of them acting in the name of some shadow government or other. There will be, in many parts of Europe, patriotic armies fighting each other over some patch of territory in order to present the future "peace conference" with a *fait accompli*. There will be ideological armies, newly organized or splintered off from the old national forces, acting under the magic of some political spellbinder or fighting to establish some *ism* or pretender government.

In such a chaos the criminal class—much of it previously in the employ of the Nazis—will enjoy its holiday. Hold-ups and burglaries will multiply miraculously, many of

them perpetrated under the name of some "governmental requisition." The streets, often blackened by strikes, will be safe only for the man or woman who carries a weapon.

In Europe on armistice day there will be at least ten million persons who have been forcibly removed from their homes and sent into distant exile. When Nazi authority snaps their one thought will be to go home again. They will try to swarm over the few railroad trains, will clutter the roads with their children and their household goods, will beg and often steal what they need to eat. Local police can hardly hope to manage them. United Nations forces cannot be everywhere at once. And, if these exiles do reach their homes, they will find others in "legal" possession. Who is to decide? Shall the issue be adjudicated with knives and shotguns? What judiciary shall direct where the new inhabitants of these houses shall live? What authority can effect *their* transfer back to *their* homes?

Probably fifteen million European men will be organized in Europe's armies (not counting those of Soviet Russia) when authority finally dissolves. Fifteen million men cannot be demobilized all at once. The United Nations command will get hold of their heavy artillery, their tanks, most of their airplanes, and much of their motor transport. But it won't be able quickly to demobilize most of these fifteen million or get their small arms away from them. That is a civilian job. To demobilize armies unless you can offer them immediate employment is about the toughest assignment known to practical politics. Europe won't have fifteen million jobs waiting on armistice day (instead it will be firing munition workers by the millions) and therefore many of those splinter armies will continue in being on their own, without a high command or any command at all that they need respect.

They will split up into regiments or companies according to their impulse or the esteem in which they hold their commanders. They will wander over the countryside, hopping rides on top of overcrowded railroad trains and looting or "requisitioning" the food or family silver they need or fancy. Some of them will be so much merchandise on the counter for any industrialist who has ministerial ambitions, or for any fly-by-night "government" which can promise them food and some kind of negotiable currency. Enrollment in such private armies will be one of the few promising careers for young men in the weeks following armistice day.

## Islands of Stability

Another of the almost certain prophecies we can make about most of armistice-day Europe is that these anarchic forces will not be subject to the control of political governments. Instead they will, little by little, come under the authority of forces which are primarily non-political. Among these we may list:

*The Municipalities.* These are the smallest units of government, and are essentially non-political in that they do not make policies but only administer services. Potentially they are centers of stability in a chaotic world once the frenzy of the change-over from Nazi rule has spent itself. The best hope of the municipalities will be to resume, as soon as they can, the pre-Nazi tradition of non-political administration, leaving party struggles to be fought out on a wider stage outside the city gates.

But these fortunate cities will have their own fight to wage against the surrounding economic anarchy. Food must somehow be procured, and raw materials for the city's industries, and fuel for the public services. These municipal governments will have to go out in the open market to bargain for wheat, scrap iron, and coal, like any private tradesman, and bargain practically on a barter basis. They will have to establish working relationships with the surrounding countryside, guaranteeing at least some few kinds of consumers' goods to the peasants in exchange for food. They will, in all probability, have to print their own money, making it legal tender for municipal taxes and municipally produced goods and services. That, incidentally, would be sounder money than any other that most of Europe is likely to see in the months following armistice day. With great resourcefulness and integrity, these municipalities might carry on successfully for a surprisingly long time on their own.

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*The Trade Unions.* When the Nazi labor functionaries have been kicked out—or murdered—on armistice day, there will be no trade-union structure remaining in all non-Russian Europe. The workers will regroup themselves spontaneously by factories or trades, not by ideologies. They will have problems to tackle much more immediate than Marxian dialectics. Sooner than any other social group, the wage-earning industrial workers will re-establish direct discipline over their members. The mushroom trade unions of armistice day may become the first clusters of authority out of which orderly government may evolve. They can organize food distribution among their membership, and so keep their men off the streets. They can guarantee production in the factories and prevent wildcat strikes. They can maintain public security by means of their militias if the Nazified city police run riot. And many a time they can secure by agreement with their trade-union comrades in other districts or countries the supplies of coal and raw materials needed to keep their factories and their jobs going. Their activities will be denounced by some as a new "occupation of the factories," or a "lawless usurpation of authority." But in fact they will be acts of orderly self-preservation to keep the productive wheels turning, if their employers are unable to make a go of it. The statesmanship of reconstruction will prove itself in large measure by its ability to utilize,

instead of antagonize, the vast potential organizing power of Europe's renascent trade unions.

*Professional Associations.* Professional associations in all branches of specialized service are much more tightly organized and disciplined in Europe than in America. These can resume something like their old form when their Nazi-imposed bosses have been eliminated. They are not likely to take on a strong political coloring if their members have a reasonable hope for jobs. If the reconstruction authorities, whether acting on behalf of municipalities or industrial cartels or the United Nations GHQ, will treat with them as autonomous suppliers of specific skills indispensable to the community—architects to rebuild bombed homes and factories, engineers to replan the devastated cities, agronomists to restore the exhausted soil —these associations can become a nervous system of a European planning authority to reinvigorate the morale of reconstruction.

*Peasant and Consumer Cooperatives.* Cooperatives, too, are much more highly developed in Europe than in America. They have been bossed but not so much kicked around by the Nazis as have the industrial workers and the professionals. They have developed a high corporate loyalty among their members and are likely to emerge on armistice day fairly intact. When it comes to distributing seed grain and fertilizers in the early reconstruction period, the peasant cooperatives will be far more efficient and equitable than will the demoralized civil services of a shadow government. When it comes to distributing to everyone his share of a limited stock of food and explaining to each why he can't have more, there will be nothing equal to the consumer cooperatives. If these citizen groups have seed and food and other necessities to distribute, no matter how limited the quantity, they can deliver their membership in support of the active tasks of reconstruction.

*The Churches.* In the general anarchy the parish churches will often retain a high degree of authority over some of their parishioners. They will be invaluable islands of stability, provided they are given responsible work to do. Through their social auxiliaries they may administer the rationing of food and clothing in their neighborhoods, the distribution of medicinal and sanitary supplies, the organization of social services for the derelicts of war. The municipalities will be obliged to use these loyal and flexible organizations simply to enable life to go on. If the reconstruction authorities do not do the same, but instead insist on dealing through demoralized state bureaucracies, they will be wasting an instrument that stands ready to their service throughout the length and breadth of the continent.

*Political Parties.* There will not be any of these to rely on when armistice day comes, because the Nazis will not have left any. It takes years to build responsible political parties. For the most part reconstruction will have to get along without them. Instead it will have to work with such non-political groups as have been named, organizations which can directly command popular loyalty—mouth to mouth and hand in hand. Nevertheless, some parties will soon begin to rally popular support—outstandingly, perhaps, the communists, because of their persistent underground work during the Nazi regime. A few other old-time parties in various countries may be able speedily to realign some of their former membership. But none can be a secure prop to the first operations of reconstruction. And note this: the press, on which organized political life in Europe absolutely depends, will have been morally obliterated. Only the underground newspapers, which have been passed from hand to hand under peril of arrest and confinement in a concentration camp, will carry to their readers the moral authority which a European newspaper derives from its political integrity. These will become *l'Oeuvre,* the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* the *Corriere della Sera* of the new Europe.

*The Agitators.* Political agitators will appear on every other street corner, haranguing crowds on every imaginable subject from the New World Dispensation to the Second Coming of Satan. All will find audiences. A few of these demagogues will turn out to be street-corner Napoleons and will become political leaders of tomorrow. Watch them. And if they can organize their mobs to help in the orderly production and distribution of the things Europe clamors for during reconstruction they will eventually become the statesmen of the new Europe.

*The Cartels.* Although international industrial cartels are not a Nazi invention, the Nazis have developed the cartel system into a Continent-wide network of production. On armistice day this will represent the bony structure, just as the trade unions and professional associations will represent the nervous system, of Europe. Note that these cartels constitute the only element in this list which will emerge from the chaos as coherent international structures. All the others will have been split into local fragments. In a Europe that will be a jumble of local organisms the basic production system of interlocking cartels will make itself felt as a sort of unified engineering plant. The reconstruction authorities will have the choice of working through this integrated international structure, or letting it be split into a score of fragments manipulated by local politicians in the name of nationalism.

There is one more essential fact to be noted about these organizations which I have named above. Each of them, not even excluding the churches, is capable, in respect to its own members, of taking over in an emergency the essential functions of a political state. Given group loyalty and shrewd leadership, they can negotiate for supplies of food and consumers' goods, ration the distribution of them, police and tax their membership, set up their own courts of justice, and even enlist their own defensive armies. It is surprising how long such groups can keep going, if they have to, without any political government above them. If they could not, there would be long black months of anarchy in store for reconstruction Europe.

Hard as it may be for Americans to imagine such a condition—thousands of little interlocking kingdoms and republics and communes running their own separate affairs and sometimes fighting it out with one another—it is a much more realistic representation of coming events than that of a number of sovereign governments negotiating with the United Nations concerning peace terms. It is with such social and local groupings, rather than with august political authorities, that the reconstruction GHQ will first have to deal.

# The Fight Has Just Begun

By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD*

AN eminent leader of the church has recently told us that the war has produced in the Protestant churches, especially among those that were strongly pacifistic, "a mood of bafflement and of frustration." He even adds that "the Christian social hope has been definitely dimmed."

It is not difficult to find reasons that apparently justify such a mood. Not only has global war smashed for the time our hopes of a peaceful world, but even the policies of our national government leave us stunned and bewildered. Our President tells us that by next year we will have raised an army of 9,700,000 men. This is the largest army ever raised by any one nation at one time in human history —and we are a democratic nation supposedly dedicated to maintaining a peaceful world. Moreover, it has been announced that the plans of our national administration for prosecuting the war call for an expenditure of not less than $220,000,000,000. This is nearly ten times the amount we spent in World War I ($25,000,000,000). Finally, there is apparently no effective protest against this "colossalism" in our war effort, either in Congress or elsewhere.

Nevertheless, those of us who are working for a permanently peaceful world have no right at this time to give way to a mood of bafflement or frustration. Our mood should rather be "We have just begun to fight!" (The verb is justified by the fact that the powers and principalities of this world are practically all arrayed against us.) If those who were seeking to abolish the iniquity of human slavery in the United States a century ago, when defeat after defeat was suffered by the anti-slavery movement, had yielded to despair and frustration, slavery might have continued indefinitely. But instead of yielding to discouragement, those who believed in a free world for all men replied, "We have just begun to fight!" And in twenty years the slavery system in the United States collapsed!

We who seek to abolish war and to establish in a more complete sense a free and peaceful world confront, in the war system of civilized nations, a more determined and powerful enemy than the slavery system ever was. Moreover, our knowledge of human history shows the war system to be a more dangerous and destructive agency than slavery ever was. If Garrison was at all justified in characterizing slavery as "the sum of all villainies," all human experience, and particularly the experience of the twentieth century, shows that there is ten times the reason to call the war system "the sum of all villainies." The determination to win peace out of this war for the coming generations of mankind must be increased a thousandfold. Moreover, there is need in every nation of a determined opposition to all of the policies of governments and institutions that tend to perpetuate the war system. The real enemy of peace is militaristic institutions, not human nature or the everyday conflicts in human experience.

But opposition to the actions of governments and institutions that tend to support the war system is not enough. There is also the system of ideas and philosophies that support the war system that need to be combatted before there is any real hope of peace. A leading educational philosopher, for example, has recently said that it is a mistake to have democratic education oriented toward the maintenance of peace. The arts of war and the military virtues, he holds, are necessary for the maintenance of democracy. Even more striking is the cyclic theory of war and peace held and promulgated by certain sociologists. One of the leaders of this school of sociology has recently told us that on account of self-interest in both individuals and groups there is bound always to be a clash of persons and groups, and that therefore a durable peaceful condition of mankind is probably an illusion. Moreover, on account of the natural balance of hatred and love in human psychology, there tends to be this cycle of war and peace; for war gives an opportunity to bring both love and hatred to a maximum, and wars furnish this satisfaction profoundly. He adds: "Certainly if history teaches us anything, good will and Christian faith and love represent but one side of man's social behavior." Thus he disposes of the Christian dream of a brotherhood of man.

It is not simply the war that challenges Christians who believe that the Sermon on the Mount should be their guide and goal in human relations, but also the pagan philosophies, often put forth in the name of science, that accompany the war, not only in Germany but even in the United States. Certainly peace without righteousness is vain to secure a durable peace. The Peace of Versailles should certainly have taught Christians that much.

Moreover, if we are to build a peaceful world, peace must first be built in the hearts of men. Our first task is to liquidate the hatred which now exists among civilized nations. We cannot do this without an attitude of reconciliation, reconciliation of men to God and of men to one another. We must remember that if it takes two at least to make a war, it takes all parties concerned in the war to get rid of a war system. The peace for which we work must be one of more than political machinery. As Sorokin says, there must be a radical reconstruction of our system of values, social, political, economic, and religious. And Sorokin adds that the system of values which we need is best found in the Sermon on the Mount. That is the only social philosophy adequate for the present crisis.

But the Fellowship of Reconciliation aims at more than peace; it aims to build a world of justice and brotherhood. But peace is the indispensable condition for building such a world, and the persistence of even vestiges of the war system can wreck such a program. Our Fellowship has therefore to persuade all religious faiths that peace and brotherhood are the core of the social side of religion; that fellowship, peace, and justice should be the ever-present aims of all Christians who seek the establishment of Christ's kingdom among all mankind. Let us try to be a "saving remnant" in our human world, and to resolve that for us "the fight has just begun"!

* Professor of Sociology, Duke University.

*Registration of Women:*

# I Expect to Register

By WINNIFRED WYGAL
*Secretary for Religious Resources, Y.W.C.A.*

THE manpower question is also a woman-power question. To date the government has avoided nation-wide compulsory registration of its women, principally because of (1) the enormous machinery and expense involved in the colossal clerical and filing job of registering some forty million women; (2) the transportation and housing problem involved in moving vast numbers of women to urban and rural production jobs in strange localities; and (3) the psychological problem of exciting many women for whom no jobs could be found for reasons either of geography or personal qualifications. The certainty that enough women would refuse registration on the grounds of conscience as to provide the government with a problem is probably another real, though not determinative, cause for delay.

Nevertheless, it is rumored that should the present regional voluntary registration fail to procure the needed number of workers, a compulsory national plan will follow.

Thus it is in a situation that has been hypothetical for twenty months and that promises to continue so that Christian pacifists now consider their probable reaction to a decision for national compulsory registration of all women. Without knowing the exact nature of such an order, its provisions and its avowed uses, there is considerable un-wisdom in a blanket answer.

For example, there is the question of a conscientious objectors' clause. It would probably be ruled by its sponsors that a C.O. clause is inappropriate in a Registration Act; that only in a conscriptive service order would the C.O. clause make sense. The fact that compulsory registration can and usually does lead directly to conscriptive service does not remove the *semblance* of difference between registration and conscription. This fact would not make it easy to win such a clause within the order itself.

Moreover, the difficulty of such a hypothetical decision is increased by the variety of personal situations among conscientious objectors. For a woman who is past fifty, and whose work is in the social and religious services, to announce her intention in regard to registration may or may not represent the hazards to conscience or to vocation that are involved for other younger women. It is with great hesitation, therefore, that this particular religious pacifist seems to set before her fellow Christians a point of view that might be untenable for others.

One is, of course, aware of the reasons why, for many, refusal to register is logical and inevitable. This government has never in peace time felt it necessary or obligatory to have a complete roll of its women citizens. The census *does* contain a type of registration of all citizens. Registration at this time *is* done for the one explicit purpose of war production. The cumulative effect of the war situation increases insensitivity to the total evil in which the world is engulfed, and this registration may offer a timely witness to recall people to the knowledge that there are still those who reject war. All these facts will lead many women to refuse to register.

My reverence in the presence of those consciences that will not be able to comply with a registration order is paralleled by my certainty that their witness will not be in vain and my respect for the magnificence of the American pacifist movement to date.

Still, so far as I can now see, *I* shall register should a compulsory order come, indicating at the time my C.O. position. I shall do so for these reasons:

First, I have never felt that refusal to register is compatible with payment of taxes. Why do Christian pacifists pay taxes? Because such action is, along with suffrage, the chief symbol of citizenship. I should feel that I was bidding for publicity, rather than virtue, if I refused to register and continued to pay my taxes. Unless anarchy is the answer, the social duties of citizenship must not cease.

Second, I should register because I believe in the principle of citizenship registration in peace time and would expect to urge such a measure after the war. Much as I deplore the present reasons for registration, and sense the shallowness of many of its war-time, versus peace-time, uses, the idea in itself is not bad. Many of the post-war services and measures to which we are committed will depend for their effectiveness upon a much more intelligent and democratic use of all citizens, both professionally and as volunteers.

Finally, in the case of women past fifty, the government probably will ignore refusal to register, as it has that of men in a similar age category. Doubtless the motive for this is governmental embarrassment that so many Americans are Christian pacifists. It can be argued that the more registrants the more embarrassing facts the government must face, yet in view of my own history and age, I have a pretty deep question about a spectacular stand when, in the nature of the case, I am a dubious candidate for most of the war-time tasks for which the government is now seeking workers.

The Christian pacifist cannot be entirely logical any more than the Christian non-pacifist can be. Nor dare he or she over-simplify the issues. We are in a world revolution conceived in the groin of sinful humanity and misguided history, yet carrying also the seeds of a new and better world. War need not have been part of this revolution had men been further advanced, more astute, more sensitive. Some of us must insist through every day of our lives that world war is not a necessary concomitant of change, advancement, and revolution. Yet, much as we believe that, we do not have all the truth. The choice made by those Christians who are supporting the war is a real one. The repudiation of war in the light of those causes that led to the 1939 world is a grave and not a wholly pure decision. Yet for us of the Fellowship it was the only choice possible. It is my faith that God uses the witness of all men in so far as they hold deeply to the revelation of truth granted them. Out of humility regarding the limitations of one's view, as well as loyalty to that view, comes new insight and a convincing witness.

*Registration of Women:*

# I Cannot Register

By EMILY PARKER SIMON
*Chairman, Baltimore F.O.R.*

FOR me, war is the most complete denial of everything I hold sacred. It violates either by intent or by indirect result all that is creative and constructive in life. It is a complete denial of divine law and love. For this, I desire to resist it with every fibre of my being and, insofar as I am able, to resist and reject it at its very source. True pacifism some day must get beyond mere resistance to war. True pacifism implies devoted effort in removing the "occasions for war," and in refusing any plan or pattern that organizes humanity for war. Registration is the first step toward conscription, which is the pattern by which men and women are organized into a system of war. It is, therefore, a step I cannot take.

Conscription imposes upon democracy the most insidious danger that can confront free people: the claim of the State to the right to dispose of a man's life against his will, against his moral or religious convictions. This is a violation of civil liberties and religious freedom. It takes away from the individual the right to decide the direction of his life or the use of his powers. It implies that final authority for the direction of man's destiny rests with the State. I believe that when total war demands, as it must, the total possession of an individual, the only way to resist it effectively is to refuse it altogether. I believe that when the answer to a question depends on the individual conscience, then final authority rests not with the State but with God.

But, someone asks, hasn't the State a right to conscript its citizens? Doesn't a person have a responsibility to the State?

Certainly a person does have a responsibility, to the State and to those laws made in the best interest of all. Furthermore, anyone who feels conscience-compelled to resist a law that he believes to be bad is therefore under special obligation to support and defend those laws he believes to be good and useful.

Nevertheless, it is important to distinguish between the State and Society. Our debt is not to the State but to Society, and the *primary* responsibility of every citizen is not to obey a man-made law but to love God and to serve his fellow man. Many times the demands of the State violate the well-being of the greater Society. To this greater Society I owe everything, and in its service I would gladly give "the last full measure of devotion." It is to this Commonwealth of God in which all men are brothers that I belong. God does not conscript one part of his commonwealth to work against another part. Nor has He ever demanded service for himself or the citizens of his commonwealth. He waits to receive it; the real service in this Commonwealth of God has always been voluntary, born not of servitude but of love.

But why not register and accept some alternative the State may provide? Because I am convinced that no organization, even a religious one, can provide an alternative for an individual's conscience. Recall the alternative offered the early Christians. They were offered complete freedom on such a simple condition: only a slight courtesy to the Emperor's statue, and no questions asked about whether or not they did it with mental reservations. They refused. They knew it was an indication of where loyalty was given and they were too honest and their convictions meant too much for them to perform this simple alternative with mental reservations.

I am not only unwilling to participate in the final act of war, killing my brother; I do not want even to begin by participating in the organization for killing. I cannot so easily shift my responsibility to the State to provide an alternative whereby I may not engage in the act of dealing death but where I am nevertheless still a part, no matter how far removed, of that system. Should I register, I would reject my personal responsibility to decide my future actions. Having done that, the best I can do is to cross my mental and spiritual fingers and say, "Here's hoping I'll be put to decent use!"

## No Room for Destruction

I am not inclined to make any distinction between men and women faced with registration as a preliminary to conscription. As fellow human beings the responsibility for answering this tremendous question appears to rest alike with all. Perhaps women may see their responsibility more clearly, for the function of woman is to love and to give life. Certainly in this there is no room for the destruction of other women's sons, the desolation of their homes, the starvation of their children. Perhaps woman will find the courage to reject war at its very first step, for hers is the courage to deal in life and not in death.

There is nothing equal to the "expulsive power of a new affection." We have given our love and loyalty to the State for so long—hasn't the time come to offer it to something bigger, more objective, more inclusive—Humanity itself? I would be a conscript of Christ if I could, but that is impossible. I would register for the work of reconciling love, but that is also impossible. Jesus disposed once and for all of that kind of servitude when he said, "Ye are my friends," and made loving service forever voluntary. To the rich young ruler he said, "I can tell you what to do to find eternity in life but you will have to decide whether or not you will do it."

There was no attempt to register or conscript for the sake of better organization or efficiency those who showed interest in his message. Only the simple "Follow me. Take up your cross, whatever it may be. Face your responsibilities as a citizen of the Commonwealth of God and know the truth, and that will make you free."

Never has the world witnessed such power. No conscript army in history has done what this little band of volunteers did. States depending on conscripted service have risen and have fallen and been forgotten. But every age has seen those who, compelled by love, have given voluntary service for the Glory of God and the good of humankind. Their numbers have grown and their line has never been broken.

**Against the sorrow and suffering that are the reality of war, words alone seem "hopelessly sterile and academic." Mr. Bartlett calls this sharply to the attention of the church with the reminder that there's—**

# Something About a Soldier

By GENE E. BARTLETT*

THE drums began just as I turned away from the ticket window. There was a roll, a cadence, and then the beginning of a lively march by the band. In the cavernous waiting-room of the great station the music reverberated into confusion. Almost immediately a crowd gathered so that I could not see the band on the other side of the room. But I could see the flags over the heads of the people. The procession went down the full length of the great room, then with a wide sweep came back up my side and stopped in formation a few yards away. Waiting passengers gathered around in a strangely silent circle.

For the first time I noticed two women standing in front of me weeping quietly. In a passing moment it seemed that I had seen these women often in the picture magazines, in those pictures of women watching European armies. Perhaps it is only that all people are alike in grief.

A man standing beside me came to attention as the flag approached. "What is it?" I asked. "Fellows going into service?"

"Right," he said tersely, then added laconically, "It's this way every day now."

"But where are the boys?" I asked.

He pointed to the milling crowd. "Over there saying good-bye to their folks."

The band had stopped playing. I glanced at the clock. Forty minutes before my train left. Just time for supper. I started across the waiting-room to the restaurant, making my way through the crowd.

Somehow I was not prepared for what I saw. Before I had gone far I found myself choked up and deeply moved by that strange sensitivity we have to the sufferings of others. With blurred vision I was making my way through little islands of people, each island a family group gathered around a boy about to leave. Those scenes will not leave me soon.

In the center of one group was a tall slender chap unashamedly sitting on his suitcase with his head in his hands, utterly dejected. He looked sick. Apparently his family had decided that it was best to leave him alone. They were trying to appear cheerful by a bantering conversation over his head.

Near by the situation was reversed. A young man was trying to laugh and joke with his family. But it was no use. The weeping girl beside him would not be consoled. Nor would the little sister who stood beside the mother, carefully avoiding her brother's eyes.

Over by a stone pillar a little apart from the others stood a group of three. Obviously they were of the upper economic group and accustomed to cultural advantage. The mother wore smart tweeds, the father a well-tailored business suit. In another country they would have been "aristocracy." They were taking all this with the dignity their class demanded of them. No show of tears. No public display of emotion. What it would be like at night when each was alone no one would know.

Just beyond stood a disheveled young chap, liquor glass in hand, talking to his mother. Though the day was cool his collar was open and beads of perspiration stood out on his forehead. As I walked around him his father hurried up. "Thought you weren't going to make it," said the son with obvious relief. The father said nothing.

Off to one side was the only Negro group. They were talking quietly. They seemed to accept this with a resignation few others were showing, possibly because they never had known anything but insecurity and submission.

Just as I reached the edge of the crowd there was another roll of drums and the band started at fast tempo to play "Remember Pearl Harbor." This was the signal. No relatives were allowed on the train platform and all good-byes had to be said here.

The first notes of the music were like an electrical charge setting off an explosion of human emotion. Handclasps, embraces, tears, shouts, a wild gathering of suitcases and coats, all with the accompaniment of the increasing tempo of the band music. One by one sons pulled themselves away and followed the band through the gates and down the stairs to the train. I had a crazy feeling of having seen the Pied Piper.

Beside me a mother and father of Italian background turned from each other as their son pulled away from their embraces. Neither wanted the other to see. For a moment the mother, who had turned toward me, gasped for breath, her face contorted by primitive grief. I wished I had not been there thus unwittingly to intrude upon so intimate a moment. Then her husband, somewhat recovered, came over and with compensating gruffness gathered the family and started them toward the exits.

Downstairs on the train platform the band played the national anthem. As the last notes died away the strange quietness of the crowd was an oppressive contrast. In this comparative silence they left the station.

## Where Does the Church Fit?

All thoughts of supper had left me. For several days I had been working on the resolutions committee of a national convention. We had been seeking phrases, cutting words, compromising here and there in order that we might get a statement acceptable on the floor of the

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convention. And it had been worth while. Men had shared their thinking in formulating their words. But compared to these scenes just past the atmosphere in which we had worked seemed hopelessly sterile and academic. Here was war, the reality—a Thing only dimly understood, but very real, reaching into countless families just like this.

Where *did* the Church fit into this picture? What did we have to say *here,* not off in a committee room, but here, confronted by these scenes? It reminded me that we could not take refuge in aloofness. Yet, must we throw over all those insights and resolutions of post-war years when we said we never again would be party to war? Like hundreds of my fellow ministers I had read books and articles, attended conferences, and entered into hours of discussion. Somehow these moments just past had brought the whole question so urgently down to earth. Where *do* Christians fit into all this?

Keenly feeling the need for something to live by at this point I skipped my supper and wrote out a working statement, trying to test each point by the intense drama I had just seen. It does not satisfy me entirely. It still leaves an uneasy conscience at many points. But it has given me some sense of direction.

## Five Imperatives

In those moments it seemed that five imperatives press upon Christians today, imperatives that represent a contribution consistent with our faith and ethic and that can be translated into living policy. I jotted them down hurriedly.

*First, we can be untiring in our missions of mercy.* The very magnitude of human suffering today tends to build a protective immunity in us. It would be difficult to keep our reason if we fully comprehended the scope of that suffering. But the Church must constantly counteract this immunity and quicken in people a sense of mission that sends relief and hope to areas of human need just as urgently as earlier spiritual awakenings sent missionaries to areas of geography.

To quicken compassion is one of our highest functions. This is not to act as though suffering were the greatest evil. Deeper than that, it is to set into motion the healing forces that only compassion can release. The plight of the starving people of Europe, of the dislocated Japanese in our own country, of the bereaved families of service men, must be kept before us now as earnestly as earlier mission movements kept before us the map of the world. The Church in wider areas surely must assume emergency conditions for an indefinite period of time and develop techniques of compassionate ministry in unstable and fearful situations.

*Second, we can be unyielding in our judgment upon war.* War remains a gross manifestation of sin and we must continue to say so. True, we are in a position of compromise. But it is doubly important that our present state be represented as compromise. This demands unfailing testimony to the judgment the absolute ethic places upon us. In theory it seems an unendurable tension to see the absolute ethic yet to live in a compromise knowing it is a compromise. Yet this seems the only way open to us. In this dilemma the Christian Church has a vocation: It must acknowledge the absolute standard as God's moral law to which we ultimately shall have to adjust. No other institution has this mission. Without the prophetic ministry men would cease to realize that they are living in a compromise—and that would be the prelude to death.

*Third, we can be unfailing in our call to repentance.* This is said very often. But in those moments at the station it became an attitude with human as well as divine implications. One felt like going to those boys and asking their forgiveness. They were paying the penalty for our selfishness and blindness. Our sin against God is that we have put our trust in self-sufficiency, and its consequences are falling upon our sons and our sons' sons.

This repentance is not merely "feeling sorry." It is profound, radical, a complete reorientation of our lives. It means a spiritual revolution. It is a new acknowledgment of the sovereignty of God and is evidenced in all attitudes and actions toward men. Far from merely "feeling sorry" it means that the Church must begin *now* to bring forth the fruits of repentance.

How do we do this? This leads to the fourth imperative. *We can be uncompromising in our practice of brotherhood within the Church.* Segregations on the basis of color or class *within* the Church are unendurable compromises. By these we abrogate our right to speak to the rest of society. Perhaps we shall have to lose our lives to save them, but now surely is the time for the physician to heal himself and take radical steps toward making the Church what it claims to be: a community of the spirit, transcending color, race, and nationality.

*Finally, we can be unceasing in our insistence upon proclamation of war aims now.* Seeing those boys go reminded me of some of the more thoughtful fellows with whom I have talked as they are drawn into this conflict. What do they say? Usually something like this: This is a mess and there seems no way out but to fight. We don't like war. We think it is wrong. We don't even know whether anything good can come out of it. We only know we don't want Hitler's world. We don't know exactly what kind of world will come if we win, but it couldn't be worse, and we think we may have a chance to make it better.

All of this puts an imperative obligation upon us to strengthen what the Church has well begun, namely, the definition of and preparation for the kind of world that does justice to the revolutionary nature of the times and is our positive alternative to Hitler's world. We know that Hitler offers a coercive collectivism. We must offer a cooperative collectivism which will be a beacon of hope to the oppressed races of the world. At present, there is still a suspicion that we are fighting against something, more than for something.

As I ceased my writing and left the station with the vivid scenes fresh in my mind it seemed more clear than ever before that Christians must be more than conscientious *objectors* in time of war. We must be conscientious *projectors* of a faith that is rooted in God's revelation of himself in Jesus Christ and of a way of life which with audacious simplicity seeks ever to fulfill the prayer, "Thy will be done on earth, as in heaven."

**The fourth in this significant series of articles suggests some of the many kinds of industry that can be established and experience growth to the benefit of the small community.**

*Small Community Economics*

# IV. Industries

By ARTHUR E. MORGAN

WE have stated that in some way community income must balance community outgo, or the community has bankruptcy in store. There are many ways in which bankruptcy can take place. Soil fertility may be sent away in the form of crops without replacement, until crops begin to fail. Then farms may be mortgaged or sold to non-residents, and the farmer becomes little more than a hired servant. Farm villages deteriorate. Finally such communites export their young men and women and gradually fade away, leaving behind dead towns and abandoned farms, or mechanized, corporate agriculture, operated for non-resident owners.

Similar decadence or disappearance of community life occurs when lumbering, fishing, quarrying, or mining towns exhaust the resources on which they have lived. Very often bankruptcy is not complete, and the outcome is that a community both lowers its living standard and comes under a degree of economic servitude.

Statements concerning the necessity for a balanced community budget are so elementary and obvious as to seem unnecessary; yet of the many community projects planned and undertaken in recent years, a considerable part have so greatly violated these requirements as to jeopardize their success.

An intelligent community today will not take as its goal a maximum degree of self-subsistence. Rather it will try to unite that degree of self-subsistence and that degree of exchange of goods and services with the outside world that will result in the best quality of community life.

Notwithstanding the inevitable drift of many forms of industry into larger and larger units, and the steady centralizing of economic production into a few very small parts of our country, there remain in the aggregate very many opportunities for small community industries. With the general development of electric power distribution, auto and truck transportation, and long distance telephones, and with increased convenience of rural living, the individual and specific causes that brought about the death of so many small community industries have largely disappeared. The thriving condition of hundreds of small community industries in many different fields is evidence that there is no general underlying principle that makes them impracticable.

Nearly always the building of an independent business, small or large, is a difficult and formidable undertaking. Unless one is willing and able to pay the price in hard work and hard living, he or she probably had better continue to work for someone else. Five or ten years is a fairly short time to get on one's feet and well grounded in an undertaking. There is time for very few such ventures in a lifetime. Therefore it is important not to make false steps or to be swayed by sentiment in making a choice.

Time and effort spent in careful appraisal are well invested, though sometimes there will be no better basis for one's decision than a general judgment that a given project would meet a substantial need, represents the best use one could make of his life, and seems to be within the reasonable range of feasibility. Most successful projects are such, not because they represented the best possible choice, but because they were reasonably feasible, and were pursued with competence, diligence, and perhaps with creative imagination, and in part because circumstances favored them.

Regarding the kinds of economic undertakings that can succeed in small communities, perhaps no better and safer hints can be provided than to mention some that have thrived in recent years. Some undertakings are concerned with supplying *services,* and some with supplying *goods.* Both are classed as economic undertakings in this description.

## A "Medical" Town

Shattuck is a town of about 1200, on the prairies of northwestern Oklahoma. It is a nowhere-in-particular place, with no distinction of any kind in its setting. Here, through the course of years, Dr. O. C. Newman and his three sons have developed a medical clinic and hospital that now has a $100,000. plant, and draws patients from two or three hundred miles around. The Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minnesota, began in a similar manner at an earlier date. There is room in American communities for scores of projects similar to that at Shattuck.

A Tennessee farm boy had just completed a course in dentistry and had opened a city office for himself when his father died and he was compelled to return home to run the farm. He set up his dental office in the farmhouse, and occasionally did work for the neighbors. He did exceptionally good work and his practice grew. The very fact that he was not in a city gave him a certain kind of distinction. In recent years people have traveled for a hundred miles or more to reach him, and he has had a large practice.

Such cases of a city type of practice or business in a small community are not as infrequent as one might expect. A man who was called upon for family reasons to live in a small Ohio village looked around for something to do. The only business he could find available was a little millinery shop. He began to make and sell hats, not as a routine salesman, but as an artist. He now does a

very large business. A friend who visited the place in 1941 said that on the cars lined up while their occupants waited for service he observed license tags from four or five states. While this man has learned to design hats of character, he holds to moderate prices. He is advertised by word of mouth.

A man at Granville, a small town in Illinois, began to put "swapping" ads in the metropolitan press all over the country. Still remaining in that little town, he has done a world-wide business, and has accumulated very considerable property holdings.

## Wild Flowers Make An Industry

United States Senator Aiken, a former governor of Vermont, when he went after his father's cows as a boy, would bring back wild flowers to plant about the house. Little by little he built up a business in wild flowers until he has become one of the substantial business men of the state. He raises trailing arbutus by the acre, and also supplies a great variety of Christmas greens. In the past twenty years several firms have built successful businesses in raising and selling wild flowers, and a considerable number of such opportunities are still waiting fulfilment. There are many genera of wild flowers, the selection and development of any one of which could be the basis of a moderately profitable career. Among these could be mentioned the wild asters, the gentians, and the native irises. Senator Aiken has said that there is reason to believe that three or four reasonably profitable careers could be built on collecting, selecting, and developing native American violets.

As a somewhat related field, a firm in a small Ohio town supplies a wide variety of aquarium supplies, including aquatic plants and animals. The tropical fish industry is centered in New York City. There seems no reason why this would not be equally feasible in a small town. Exploration in lower New York discloses numerous small industries that might be more normally at home in a less expensive and more spacious environment. By such steps a degree of decentralization could come about.

At North Manchester, Indiana, a man began in a small way to bind books. Though he had some difficulty in breaking through the secrecy of the craft, he did so, and gradually developed a business that now employs about thirty people. The rebinding of library books constitutes a relatively stable business.

In one town a man makes mechanical equipment and appliances for orthopedic physicians. He goes his rounds regularly, and is also available by telephone. He has had a self-supporting business for many years. There is room for several such businesses in the country, though proximity to large cities would be necessary.

## Business May Expand

A little town in Minnesota has developed by degrees an extensive mail-order business. A self-supporting Adventist school in a Tennessee village, at the cost of two or three hundred dollars, built equipment for "exploding" puffed wheat, corn, and rice, and sells its product in the region, with very low overhead. Too small meat-packing houses are not economical, yet a small, well-equipped plant in a trade area of fifty thousand people probably can be successful. There are numerous successful small packing houses.

Sometimes a local business can outgrow its confines. A generation or two ago a colony of the persecuted Waldensians came from the French Alps to North Carolina. Tricked by a real estate salesman, they found themselves in possession of one of the most sterile and forbidding spots in eastern America. Some of them, after working as laborers in textile mill towns, came back and started small mills. Three or four of these are now thriving institutions. The local baker, by making better bread than others, has come to have a market that extends for fifty or a hundred miles beyond the village.

Near the southeast corner of the same state a plantation owner divided his worn-out land into fifteen-acre tracts, and sold it to whoever would buy. One purchaser was a shirtwaist worker in a New York City loft building. He was a Hollander, and knew bulb raising. As a result of his pioneering, that community is today one of the most prosperous of any in America that is devoted to horticulture or agriculture.

At Fountain Head, Tennessee, a young doctor and his wife, a nurse, with their total capital of $150. settled on an eroded and abandoned farm. With careful treatment of a small piece of land, and experimenting with crops, they found strawberries to be especially productive. Today that is one of the principal strawberry-growing localities in America. A sanitarium, started in a tiny building, now serves the surrounding region, and a private school of high school grade helps to make real farmers.

Yellow Springs, Ohio, which about twenty years ago was almost wholly a farming community, with a dying small college, has demonstrated the possibility of small industries. Two printing plants have grown up. One of them produces about three quarters of all the bookplates made in America, as well as other specialties, and publishes the local paper. The other publishes several periodicals. A chicken hatchery supplies the surrounding region. A farm seed distribution firm does business throughout the state. A hybrid corn company does $100,000. worth of business a year. A photographer does such good work that his clients come from fifty miles. A bronze foundry casts art bronzes for all over America; a business heretofore mostly centralized in big cities. An aluminum foundry, using a locally developed process, employs a hundred and fifty men. A drying compound, also developed locally, has almost a monopoly of the nation's business in its field. A summer theater calls people from the surrounding cities.

These are about twenty years' developments in what was a static little farm community.

## Future Possibilities

Passing now from what has been done to what might be, it would appear that numerous possibilities are waiting for someone to do the hard discouraging work necessary to make any dream come true. Let us suggest a few of these possibilities.

Many a small firm with a few hundred employees would profit by a house organ that would help the personnel to understand its purposes and plans, or that would keep its customers acquainted with its products. For such a publication to be feasible it must be produced with great economy, such as may be possible in a small-town editorial

and printing establishment. A firm that would make a practice of issuing small house organs would provide an outlet for writing ability, business management, and mechanical skill in a community.

Many research services can well be operated in a small community. Some can be developed there from the start, sometimes using local materials. Who knows, for instance, the economic possibilities of fish wastes in fishing villages, or sawdust wastes in hardwood lumbering towns?

Many mail-order services would be feasible from small towns. Could not mail-order dyeing service be a small-town business, with tests of fabrics and color samples by mail? Could not dehydrated ice cream mix be a dairy community product, sold by mail? Could not fruit syrups for ice cream flavoring be similarly produced and sold? The making of keys and small metal parts on order might also be a mail-order business.

### Other Community Helps

Another field of possibilities is local summer-resorting. Many a city family cannot afford a summer vacation in New England or Canada, nor can the children afford a standard boys' or girls' camp. There are literally hundreds of sites in America where a small dam will create a little lake in the woods, where family vacation camps could be constructed that would be within the range of workingmen's pocketbooks. Winters could be spent in building cottages and in making homemade furniture for them. Spring could be used for making gardens to supply vacationers. Such a project, if developed with social imagination, might become a highly regarded regional institution. Rotary and Kiwanis clubs might patronize it with their boys' and girls' vacation programs.

The capacity of a small community to be self-sustaining will be increased if some persons live there who get their livings from outside. The money they spend for local services helps to balance that sent away for goods. If a professional lecturer chooses to live in a small town he may find his money going further and his periods at home less hectic. Some writers prefer to live in small towns. Dorothy Canfield Fisher and William Allen White are evidence that small community life need not inhibit quality.

The constantly increasing specialization of modern life constantly effloresces into new and specialized industries. Many of these can thrive almost as well in a small town as in a large one, and the cost of operation may be much less. In many communities there are raw materials that never have been thoroughly studied or developed. A young man in Maine worked with the peat in the bog near his father's unproductive farm, and developed an industry employing a hundred men. Another young man near by buys logs too small for lumber, and has developed a business in a great variety of small wood parts used in American industry.

One might continue endlessly to cite cases or to suggest possibilities for small community economic undertakings. The chief values of such suggestions are to illustrate the fact that small community opportunities are not extinct, and to stir the imagination to inquire what might be possible in a given case.

*The fifth and final article of this series will discuss "Community Economic Planning."*

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# Tomorrow We Die

By BERNARD C. CLAUSEN*

THESE young men are about to die. The young men themselves know it, even though they find it hard to make it seem true. For decades we have taken pride in prolonging life. Our heroes have been the scientists who have taught us how to use biochemistry and experimental medicine to fight back the plagues of disease. Our pride has mounted with each extension of the average expectation of life. Now, outside the laboratories, we have boiled up a witch's potion of hate that will slay millions—the best and the rest with impartial grimness. No wonder the human spirit halts in temporary paralysis before that illogical horror.

So life takes on new meaning. The slow, easy leisure of long range expectation—the yawning affirmation that there is "plenty of time"—the plans that reach out across the reasonable years—all seem impossible now. "Tomorrow we die," say the young men, and no one can contradict them. The "tomorrow" is pressing up into today. What will they resolve to do, between now and that tomorrow that threatens them so relentlessly? Thousands are taking this urgency as a signal for wanton self-indulgence. "Eat, drink and be merry," they shout. "Why worry, why save, why be decent, why care?" A wave of lascivious, beastly, hilarious immorality surges up around the doors of night club life. But thousands are refusing to be tempted. "If death will come soon, what can I do with the time I have left?" they are asking themselves. "What words can I say? What affection can I show? What cause can I serve? How can I help build a world in which such sacrifices will never again be demanded, with the short time that still remains for me to use?"

Jesus lived under pressure like that. The shadow of the Cross fell athwart his earliest ideas. He knew he had only a few short months. He made them radiant with great purpose. He preached each time as if it were his last sermon, closed each day as if he never expected to wake again.

But suppose death passes us by. Suppose this storm ends, and we escape. How silly we shall feel at our fears!

Not at all. We shall remember that our lives were made better because of their urgency. We must learn to be as patient as if we had all of eternity, as excited as if we could count on only a few minutes. We must work with a will, while yet it is day. For all of us, the night cometh when no man can work.

* Pastor, First Baptist Church, Pittsburgh, Pa.

# Randolph Urges Negroes To Try Non-Violence

## F.O.R. Leaders Call Move Challenge to Members

One of the most significant of recent developments in the field of interracial relations in the United States was the proposal by the March on Washington Movement in mid-January of a program of non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation to be instituted in May. A. Philip Randolph, national director of the movement and head of the powerful Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters, announced that the program would be used to break the stranglehold of Jim Crow on Negroes all over the country.

"The program of non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation should include refusal of Negroes to obey any law which violates their basic citizenship rights, such as Jim Crow cars and all forms of discrimination," Mr. Randolph explained.

The program, if approved, will be launched at the meeting of the March on Washington Movement (MOW), on May 11. It will call on Negroes to refuse to ride on Jim Crow cars or use Jim Crow waiting-rooms in the South. It will urge them to eat in all places in every city where citizens normally dine, with Washington Negroes going daily for a week to the Congressional restaurant, which refuses to serve them. Negroes on duty with the armed forces, or "at work," would not be expected to participate in the program.

"If they are ejected," continued Mr. Randolph's statement, "they should not fight back, but constantly keep up their program . . . in an orderly, peaceful and quiet manner. The grounds upon which this program will be based is that a citizen is morally obligated to disobey an unjust law."

### F.O.R. Issues Statement

The Fellowship Executive Committee, meeting a few days after announcement of the proposed program, called it "a challenge to us and our members throughout the country." In a resolution the Committee declared its belief that continued treatment of Negroes as "second-class citizens" would be a "national calamity." Since a resort to hatred and violence would be "equally calamitous," the resolution continued, the need for non-violent techniques "to advance the cause of liberation" is clear. Such a program is a serious undertaking, the Committee warned, however, and urged that much thought be given to Gandhi's insistence that "non-violent direct action requires the most careful training and severe discipline, including spiritual discipline."

Noting that the Fellowship of Reconciliation has been interested for some years in non-violent direct action, particularly in the field of race relations, the Executive Committee urged F.O.R. members to engage in renewed study of the problem during the coming weeks. In addition it called upon the Fellowship's Non-Violent Direct Action Committee to intensify its efforts "to provide training and guidance for such of our members and others as may decide to join or cooperate" with this or other non-violent action for interracial justice.

## Ralph Galt Sentenced To Five-Year Term

Ralph M. Galt, F.O.R. representative in China from August, 1940, to June, 1942, and one of the two Rural Secretaries of the Fellowship of Reconciliation for the past several months, was sentenced to five years in prison for refusal to register, in Federal Court at Indianapolis on January 14.

Mr. Galt, who was one of the Americans returned on the liner Gripsholm, had notified the United States District Attorney in Cleveland of his conscientious inability to register, declaring his belief that (a) war is "a sin against both God and man. . . . the result of past sins"; (b) there exists a "moral and more effective method of solving conflicts and problems"; and (c) the conscription of individuals is "most immoral."

## F.O.R. Executive Committee Protests Victory Tax

A strong protest against the requirement that the Fellowship of Reconciliation collect a five per cent "Victory Tax" from its employes was made by the Executive Committee of the Fellowship at its meeting on January 12.

Declaring that the tax is "more clearly an out-and-out war tax than most," the statement asked the Administration or Congress to "devise some plan whereby organizations such as ours . . . may be given the alternative of paying the equivalent of this tax for some purpose that is clearly civilian and constructive in character." The Committee pointed out that this is "the first and only tax for whose enforcement and collection our organization would be made a coercive agent of the war-making state."

## Negroes Participate In F.O.R. Conference

More than 400 Negroes participated in the interracial youth conference held in Columbus, Ohio, the last week of 1942 under the joint sponsorship of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Second Baptist Church of that city. *Vigilance,* the official organ of the Negro Vanguard League, spoke approvingly of the conference as going much farther than "the usual three t's (tea, touch, and talk) in race relations," because one afternoon was given over to non-violent direct action.

Resolutions passed by the conference during its three-day session included:

An expression of opposition to the High School Victory Corps plan, telegraphed to Dr. John W. Studebaker, of the United States Department of Education.

A call for an immediate cessation of hostilities and the adoption of non-violent means for the achievement of a just and durable peace.

A "strong" request that the National Service Board establish pay for CPS men who desire it; that alternative service be set up for men who do not wish to go to CPS; that the matter of CPS dependency be solved. The conference also approved the action of the F.O.R. National Council in staying in the National Service Board, but expressed the feeling that future relationship will depend "on the progress it makes on our concerns," particularly regarding alternative service for men in IV-E.

A recommendation that the F.O.R. establish a project or projects to which men who walk out of CPS may go if they wish.

## British Pacifist Leader Stuart Morris Arrested

Stuart Denton Morris, leading British pacifist, has been jailed under Britain's official secrets act, it was revealed three days before Christmas. Although he appeared in Bow Street Police Court for a formal hearing, complete secrecy surrounded the nature of the charge against him.

Morris, who began his career as a Church of England clergyman in 1913, renounced holy orders shortly after the start of the war as a protest against the attitude of a great part of the Church of England clergy. He had taken over the leadership in the Peace Pledge Union in April, 1938, at which time the organization had 117,000 members, and was said to be enrolling 1,000 new members monthly.

A new pamphlet, *Jehovah's Witnesses and the War,* has been published by the American Civil Liberties Union and is now available for distribution at the national offices of that organization, at 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

# Gifts to Nisei Children Arouse Town's Ire

The innocent desire of a Fellowship of Reconciliation group to send some Christmas toys to the children held in a Japanese relocation center proved to be the spark that set the little town of Placerville, California, ablaze with rumors and excitement.

It all started when the F.O.R. group from C.P.S. Camp No. 31, located at near-by Camino, decided to make toys for the children of "relocated" Japanese-Americans at Poston, Arizona. A few days before Christmas the toys, nicely packaged in a large wooden box, were delivered to the express office in Placerville. There some earnest citizen caught sight of the address to which it was being sent, and within a few hours rumors had spread through town that the conscientious objectors were sending subversive material, guns, dynamite, or other contraband to the Japanese. Before the package could be sent on its way the camp director and the chairman of the F.O.R. group had to come to town and grant permission to the sheriff and district attorney to open the box and examine its contents.

The final comment of one of these gentlemen reveals the extent of intolerance existing. "I only wish," he said, only half jokingly, "it had been dynamite instead of toys and that it had blown up when it reached its destination."

Further repercussions from the incident were evident in an editorial and letter to the editor in the Placerville *Times*. Editorially the newspaper remarked that "when the conscientious objector felicitates the Jap in the centralization camp with gifts, we take it such C.O. is a 'bird of similar feather' and demand that the government treat them as such if so determined."

## U.P.C. to Discuss War, Peace Problems

"Problems of the War and the Peace" will be the subject for discussion at meetings of the United Pacifist Committee at Labor Temple, New York City, February 20 through 22. Meetings will be held Saturday morning and evening, Sunday afternoon and evening, and all day Monday, leaving Saturday afternoon free for attendance at the conference on feeding Europe, at Carnegie Hall, at which Herbert Hoover and Rufus Jones will speak.

Specific subjects for discussion in open forums will include the results of war and conscription on the pattern of our life; the status and problems of conscientious objectors; the peace and how to achieve it, and others. Speakers will include Jessie Wallace Hughan, John Howland Lathrop, Frederick Libby, A. J. Muste, John Nevin Sayre, Jesse W. Stitt, Norman J. Whitney, and others.

Monday will be devoted to round-table discussions connected with the second annual Rural Cooperative Community Conference.

## Dayton F.O.R. Plans Subsistence Work Camp

A "subsistence work camp" in an underprivileged, interracial section of Dayton, Ohio, has been announced by the Church of the Brethren and the Dayton Fellowship of Reconciliation, joint sponsors of the project. The camp will operate from June to September, and will be open to young people of high school age and over.

Campers will work at subsistence wages building new quarters for a community consumers cooperative store and a pacifist farming homestead, and will also help to develop an educational and recreational program. Only expenses will be transportation to and from Dayton.

In charge of arrangements for the Dayton F.O.R. is Elizabeth Miller Hartman, 1613 Home Avenue, Dayton.

## C.P.S. Physical Exams To Match Army's

Conscientious objectors going to Civilian Public Service camps henceforth will get the same physical examinations as men entering the army, it has been announced by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. This climaxes a year of effort on the part of both the Board and Selective Service, and will eliminate the condition that has existed heretofore, in which only cursory "first examinations" have been given prior to induction, with the result that a considerable number of physically unfit men have been sent to camps.

Under the new regulations men will be sent to regular army induction stations, but only for their physical examinations. "C.O.s taking advantage of this system need not be afraid of being inducted into the army as a result," declared Paul French, executive secretary of the National Service Board. "The only reason for the move is to attempt to get a more complete and fairer examination."

## C.O. Non-Registrants Face New Prison Terms

Second convictions of conscientious objectors who already have served a term in the federal penitentiary have increased in frequency during the past several weeks. Charges have varied, including refusal to be inducted into the army or Civilian Public Service Camp after having been so classified, and such apparently minor infractions as failure to carry a registration card.

Although at first glance such action seems to be placing the individuals in question in "double jeopardy," from a strictly legalistic point of view it would be difficult to substantiate such a charge. A selectee remains continuously subject to the requirements of the Selective Service Act, and serving a sentence for violation of one section of the Act does not relieve him of the necessity of observing other provisions.

However, officials of the government apparently do not favor introduction of the so-called "cat-and-mouse" procedure into the handling of these cases, so that conscientious objectors who are faced with this problem should communicate at once with the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, 941 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. Any action to prevent second indictments and convictions must be taken before the local Federal District Attorney takes specific steps.

## Syracuse Friends Denounce Federal Council Statement

*The Issues at Stake in the War,* recent statement of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, was denounced last month by the Syracuse Preparative Meeting of Friends as "counter to the historic peace testimony of Friends." The Meeting, expressing concern because two representatives of the Five Years Meeting of Friends in America were on the Council, declared that the public might easily interpret the statement as "receiving the assent of the Society."

Citing also published reports that pressure from "high governmental circles" had influenced the writing of the statement, the Meeting pointed out that after the war the churches endorsing such a position "will certainly be condemned . . . for proving unfaithful to their Christian professions."

## Hoover, Jones to Speak

Former President Herbert Hoover and Rufus Jones will be the speakers at a rally to be held in Carnegie Hall, New York, at 2:30 p.m. on February 20, on the subject: "Europe's Children —Must They Starve?" The program will be broadcast on a coast-to-coast hook-up over the Columbia Broadcasting System between 3 and 3:30 p. m.

## Famous Architect C.O. Contradicts Judge

Assailing Federal Judge Patrick T. Stone as "one of the things that is the matter with America," Frank Lloyd Wright, noted American architect and pacifist, took sharp issue with the jurist's charge that Wright was "poisoning the minds" of his architectural apprentices against the draft. Judge Stone made the statement during the appearance in court at Madison, Wisconsin of Marcus Weston, who refused to report for induction. Weston was one of Wright's apprentices in the Taliesin Fellowship. The jurist had declared that he would ask the FBI to investigate Wright.

The architect wrote to Judge Stone in reply:

"You do not know me. I know you only as you debase your judgeship to throw stones at me. The quality of American fair play is sunk pretty low when a judge on the bench uses his office (however he came by it) to sound off his prejudice against another man on mere hearsay.

"And we now have too much of it taking refuge under the name of government when it is no more than a passing administration of our government. I have occasion to know well the arrogant prejudice raised against any man who refuses to run with the pack. But it is seldom in our country that it comes from the place all American citizens hoped, and still hope, to keep free and impartial.

"So I believe you are another one of the things that is the matter with America. I think for the safety of this nation such men as yourself should be deprived of any administrative authority whatever, right now.

"In the case of Marcus Weston, a true conscientious objector, you judged him only as a draft-evader instead of as a conscientious objector, and judged him as a criminal because he knew no better than to plead guilty to the charge lodged against him, a charge which was itself a willful evasion of his real status.

"I have no more use for a draft-evader than you have.

"The Taliesin Fellowship is a tax-free, democratic establishment wherein young men are recognized as responsible human beings with consciences of their own. I would never take it upon myself to advise them what to do where their own lives were the stake, even were I consulted. It would not be in the spirit of our Fellowship.

"But the young architects come here because of a common interest and faith: I often learn more from them than they learn from me. It is not surprising therefore that their feeling about war should, independently, somewhat resemble mine. Independence is their status here because they are all volunteers as they will, I am sure, gladly testify. Nineteen of them are in the services now.

"As for conscription, I think it has deprived the young men in America of the honor and privilege of dedicating themselves as freemen to the service of their country. They were first condemned without a hearing and enslaved.

"Were I born 40 years later than 1869, I too should be a conscientious objector."

## C.P.S. Man Drowned

**Denton Darrow, 22-year old conscientious objector and member of the F.O.R., was drowned on January 2, searching for seven flyers missing from a Navy patrol boat that crashed in the Pacific Ocean.**

**Darrow, one of twenty volunteer searchers from the Cascade Locks (Ore.) camp, slipped from a rock and was carried out to sea by the backwash. He was a native of Deer Flat, Idaho, and a graduate of Idaho State University.**

## Senator Urges Dropping Provisions for C.O.s

A bill to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, eliminating all provision for conscientious objectors, has been introduced into the United States Senate by Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma. The bill, number S315, has been referred to the Military Affairs Committee, of which Senator Reynolds is chairman. It is reported that the proposal has the backing of the American Legion.

Pacifist organizations are urging their membership to write to Senators Thomas and Reynolds, and to the Senators from their own states, opposing the bill.

## Civil Liberties Union Takes Over L.S.C.O.

The new Legal Service to Conscientious Objectors, organized in December for a three-months trial period, was absorbed in January by the National Committee on Conscientious Objectors of the American Civil Liberties Union. R. Boland Brooks and George B. Reeves, Director and Associate Director of the L.S.C.O. respectively, will continue in the same positions under the new set-up. Dorothy Detzer, Executive Secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, has agreed to give part time to the organization for an experimental period of three months.

"Facing Totalitarianism" will be the subject of discussion by three speakers at the nineteenth anniversary dinner of the War Resisters League, to be held February 8 at the Town Hall Club, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City.

## London C.O. Board Sends Greetings to F.O.R.

In reply to a letter of greeting sent to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, London, the following message was received at the national office of the F.O.R., from Fenner Brockway, chairman of the English group:

"The greetings and good wishes in your letter of 13th October have indeed been a source of inspiration to us at the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, and I have no doubt that when in a short time they are passed on to the 62,000 conscientious objectors of Great Britain those men and women who are now taking an unpopular stand for the sake of their conscience will be equally appreciative of your message.

"May the cause of true conscientious objectors throughout the United States of America be richly blessed in the future, and may they be strengthened in the knowledge that other men and women throughout the world are being required to face up to similar decisions, which they are doing with quiet confidence and strength."

## Effort Begun to Turn Back Evacuee Camps to Army

An effort to take the administration of Japanese-American Relocation Centers out of the hands of the War Relocation Authority, a civilian organization, and return it to the army, has been launched in Congress. Liberals who have been working to improve the situation of the evacuees are alarmed by the move, and fear that such action would be a fatal blow to the democratic faith of the Japanese-Americans, besides setting back democracy for all of us. Members of the Fellowship are urged to send their protests against this move to Senator Robert Reynolds, chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, and to their own Senators.

In an effort to facilitate resettlement, the War Relocation Authority has opened field offices in Salt Lake City, Denver, Kansas City, Chicago, and Cleveland.

Two new publications on resettlement have been issued by the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese-Americans. *Community Preparation for Resettlement of Japanese-Americans* and *Resettlement Handbook*. Both are free.

### C.P.S. Needs

Wanted to rent: 16mm. sound-film projector, 1600 foot reel, 110 volts, direct current. Robert Adams, C.P.S., Gorham, N. H.

### F.O.R. Field Secretaries

*South:* Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.; *Midwest:* Herman Will, Jr., 740 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash.; *Northern California:* Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 1411 West 22nd Street, Los Angeles, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Rohrer, 1418 Grape Street, Denver, Colo.; *Rural:* Carl J. Landes, Merom, Ind.; *Refugee:* Marion Frenyear, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

# The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

*The World Federation Plan* by Ely Culbertson, 1942. The World Federation, Incorporated, 164 East 62nd Street, New York City. 25¢.

The master of contract bridge has turned to statecraft. It is gratifying to note that he is devoting his talents to more serious problems, but despite the transformation his *World Federation Plan* still reminds one of the atmosphere of the bridge table. It is all neatly worked out, and all the pieces fit togther as nicely as though mankind were a deck of cards, divided this time into eleven suits, but still retaining aces, honor counts, and suit values.

It is impossible to grasp the mass of detailed arrangements to be found in the Plan without going to the document itself. Briefly, it provides for the establishment of eleven regional federations within the framework of the World Federation. Each of these regional federations is to be built around an "initiating state," which is the largest and most powerful in the group. The United States would be the initiating state for the American federation, which would also include the Latin-American countries. Nor are the Axis nations to be discriminated against in this regard, for reasons that Culbertson very ably sets forth. Germany would become the initiating state for a Germanic block, including the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, and Finland. Japan and Korea would make up another group. Russia and China are already large enough to stand alone as regional federations.

## The Quota Force Principle

However, the distinctive new idea of the *World Federation Plan* is not to be found in its federal structure. It is rather in what Culbertson calls "The Quota Force Principle." In setting forth this principle, the peace-minded Mr. Culbertson accepts the assumption on which war makers have operated in all ages: that armed might is the principal foundation of government. He desires to eliminate war, and believes that the only way to do it is to give the World Federation such overwhelming power that no nation would dare to break the peace. He has long been troubled by the contradiction between the desire for collective security and the strength of nationalism in the modern world. He does not hesitate to maintain that he has at last discovered how to resolve that contradiction.

The "Quota Force Principle" provides that each initiating state will furnish a contingent to the army of the world federation. This contingent, however, will be maintained on the soil of its home nation, so that the country will not be wholly without means of defense in case of attack. In addition there will be a "Mobile Corps" made up of soldiers from the smaller states, which have no national contingents. These troops will be stationed in strategic places throughout the world, and will be fully under the direction of the World Federation. They are to serve as shock troops in case any nation attacks another, and they are assisted by the national contingents from all countries other than the one responsible for aggression. The World Federation army will have a monopoly of all heavy weapons of land, sea, and air warfare, and will have the exclusive right to manufacture them. Thus, Culbertson maintains, there will be no national armies strong enough to hope for victory in aggressive war, and war will be eliminated.

This latter contention can be proved by simple arithmetic and reference to the "Quota Table of World Police" that Culbertson has worked out. The United States will furnish 20 percent of the Federation's police force or army; The British Commonwealth and Russia will each furnish 15 percent; the French, German, Polish, Turkish, Chinese, and Indian contingents are each to make up 4 percent of the total; and the Malaysian and Japanese each 2 percent. The "Mobile Corps" would comprise the other 22 percent. Even if an aggressive nation or group of nations should seize control of its national contingents, no conceivable army would be as large as the combined force of the "Mobile Corps" plus the contingents of the nations not included in the combination.

## Equity of Distribution Doubtful

The equity of Culbertson's proposed distribution of forces is open to grave doubts. A Chinese, a Russian, a German, or even a South American, might well question the wisdom of allowing the United States to furnish one-fifth of the world police force. He might be even more alarmed when he finds that this country is to be placed in virtual control of the Malaysian federation, and that portions of the American contingent are to be stationed in Malaysia to protect what Culbertson calls "the American strategic zone." But Mr. Culbertson is only being "realistic."

He believes that the United States will emerge from the war as the world's leading military power, but he fears that in a few short years rival post-war powers may develop that would threaten her dominant position. Therefore, Culbertson argues that America must dictate a lasting peace to the world while her military strength is still great. The idea of a world federation dominated by the United States arises logically out of such a point of view.

Culbertson's quota principle amounts to an attempt to freeze the power positions of the nations as they exist at the end of the war, and to use the armed might of the nations then powerful to prevent for all time the growth of any "aggressors"—a euphemism that he likes to use in place of "military rivals." "World Federation" would seem to be old "Imperialism" writ large.

## A Plan for War

Supposedly this is a plan for peace, yet most of its provisions indicate that basically it is a plan for war: a new type of war in which the World Federation would chastise states, members or non-members, for breaches of the peace, but war just the same. Culbertson talks of *strategic* boundaries, *strategic* island bases, and the *strategic* importance of combining what he calls the disparate cultures of the Americas into a single regional federation. His preoccupation with the organization of the world's military forces betrays his own lack of faith in the effectiveness of this new machinery to eliminate or solve the problems that cause international tension.

Mr. Culbertson has virtually dismissed politics from his consideration. He has overlooked the fact that all governments must be administered by men who still will be trying to serve national interests, and who will act on the basis of political expediency. He even seems proud of the fact that his World Federation is not truly a government at all. He would make it possible for a member state to make a subsequent agreement with the Federation giving the latter power to legislate in a number of important economic and cultural fields, but such legislation would apply only in the state covered by the agreement. Initially, the World Federation would have no real power of legislation outside the military field, and hence few potentialities to effect peaceful change through the process of political compromise. It would rest frankly upon the principle of coercion of states. No successful federation in the world today depends upon this principle to maintain its unity, and if the principle be applied it can lead to only one thing—civil war. The history of the American Civil War should show that men who have a real or fancied grievance, and believe that force can ever effect a remedy, are not restrained merely because their position is hopeless from a military point of view. Perhaps Mr. Culbertson believes that civil war is preferable to the international variety, but the people in Spain bear witness to the falsity of that asumption.

Those who seek peace will have to go further than Mr. Culbertson can guide them. They will have to learn that peace cannot be maintained by the use or the threat of military power. Peace never can endure until men *will* to use whatever political instruments they possess only in the service of peace.

THEODORE PAULLIN.

# Pro and Con

## A PAGE OF COMMENTS BY READERS

**Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.**

### Dr. Holmes and Conscription

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I want to thank you very much for that statement printed in Dr. Holmes' department in the last issue of *Fellowship*. That was something that needed to be said, and he said it admirably. The question raised whether some of our pacifist friends are really pacifist against war, or anarchist against government, I have often asked. But I have never phrased it, and could not have phrased it half so convincingly.

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK.

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The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

There is no reason why John Haynes Holmes should not state as vigorously as he chooses his own position regarding war and conscription. It is something else again when he implies that those who do not agree with his particular slant are confused, recalcitrant only against conscription, and potential, if not actual, anarchists.

It is always a temptation to defend a controversial position in an argument by using abstract theories that are actually irrelevant to the practical issue under consideration. This is what Dr. Holmes does in his discussion of conscription. I have frequently stated that I might accept conscription under certain circumstances. I have always insisted, however, that the circumstances that could make me accept conscription are at present more theoretical than real and do not exist at all when the majority in society are more intent on the predatory economic and political considerations of power than on life and the moral and spiritual values that sustain it.

Conscription as we know it in America exists for one purpose only—the waging of war. The government has stated this time and again and it is implicit in everything that is said and done by Selective Service. The failure to face this fact in any argument about conscription and war makes for confusion, not clarity. Dr. Holmes evades the real issue in his thinking because he fails to carry through with the questions (1) *What is the purpose of the conscription we face today?* and (2) *What precedents are being established in the administration of alternative service for conscientious objectors?* He is not unaware of these questions but he has not yet answered them. Until they are answered by each one of us we have scarcely begun the task of making an "all-out" effort against war as Dr. Holmes urged. The answers to both of these queries are vital to pacifists and cannot be separated from the struggle to end war.

EVAN W. THOMAS.

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The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Dr. Holmes says that objection to war is the essential matter, and that the pacifist confuses the issue when he opposes conscription as such. And then he speaks of conscription in a light and fantastic manner to prove his point without any consideration for the existing realities. He speaks of conscription as a possible social blessing to lull us into ignoring the issue as it exists today. He even indulges in such euphonious phrases as conscription of the willing, which is a contradiction in terms. Wherever people are willing, they volunteer, and where one individual refuses to do so, and is punished for such refusal, you have conscription. From that moment the issue is joined, and it is not the individual that creates the issue but the government.

To dodge an issue which is responsible for the imprisonment of thousands in this country, and the death of unknown numbers in other countries, shows an indifference to human suffering which is only too evident in some of the pacifist organizations today. Because organized pacifism has been bribed with some form of recognition it is overlooking the tremendous evil of conscription.

War alone can be an issue where people are not conscripted to fight it, but the moment that evil enters into the process, that is the point at which the pacifist must, if he is to retain his own integrity, take his stand. War is the fighting phase of an evil process, and the pacifist is justified in refusing to underwrite any step that is necessary to carry on a war.

To justify conscription for any purpose is merely restating the fascist contention that democracy cannot work and that regimentation can make us free. Conscription for any purpose can be justified only by despots or individuals with a slave psychology. Conscription is justified by the militarist as an emergency measure, and if we can be kept in a constant state of emergency, we can be easy victims of our native despots.

Dr. Holmes confuses the issue by insisting that war alone is the issue. I say civilization is the essential matter, and by civilization I mean the steady advance of individual freedom, and the constant widening of spheres for individual activities where no government may interfere. Whatever may have been the origin of other governments, this government was founded by men and women as definitely opposed to the authoritarian state as they were to authoritarian religion. To encourage slavery or conscription as a means of emancipation is an attempt to liquidate all the progress of the past, and protestation of decent intentions does not change the fact that all the peoples in Europe are in misery today because they listened and accepted the same advice from their leaders. All tyranny is an issue at all times.

JULIUS EICHEL.

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The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I thought Dr. Holmes made an excellent point in his article in the January *Fellowship* about the confusions between opposition to war and opposition to conscription.

It seems to me that it is a point at which some of the men are not quite clear in their own minds.

PAUL COMLY FRENCH.

### Pacifists and the Use of Force

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Pacifists generally lack any concise and precise answer to the questions which loom largest in the interest of the general public, especially in the minds of most sympathetic non-pacifists. Our testimony and our influence would, I believe, be enormously increased if we can find a crystal clear, corporate reply to these queries:

1. Do you rule out absolutely all uses of physical coercion in human relations?
2. If not, where do you draw the line?
3. What principles determine this distinction?

These are questions to which the public has a right to expect replies whose meaning is unmistakable. They become increasingly relevant as we approach the task of making a creative peace in which a world political authority is envisaged.

In my judgment a representative meeting of pacifists should be convened for the sole purpose of seeking a consensus on this fundamental issue.

VERNON NASH.

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### Heard and the Present Crisis

Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Gerald Heard's "Pacifist, Heal Thyself" presents a one-sided view of the pacifist task today. We owe him much in the field of self-culture. This we must never neglect. But when he concludes that not until we can cure ourselves and the criminal and the insane have we any case for saying that we can solve the racial and international conflict, he seems to ride his hobby into the ground. He says that man has risen "to the headship of all animals" because he has been "creative toward crises". Is Mr. Heard being creative toward the present crisis?

Consider Gandhi's way of being creative toward crisis. He does not neglect to heal himself. But he also leads multitudes of run-of-the-mine people in campaigns of non-violent direct action which form the most hopeful spot in our warring world. Did Gandhi wait until he and the members of his ashram were perfected and had cured the criminal and the insane before challenging imperialist hypocrisy and exploitation?

What is the decisive difference between Gandhi's ashram and many of the ordinary sort in India? The latter are Heardian in outlook. The former prove and improve their faith by their action against evils entrenched in the social order. The weakness of Heard's position is that if we neglect to use the resources *now available* for changing the structure of society by Gandhian and socialistic means we shall have an increasing Niagara of the criminal and the insane on our hands. He presents our task in terms of a ladder: First heal yourself, then your neighbors, then the world. The way of Gandhi, like that of Jesus, gives us the picture of a circular staircase: You cannot move upward in self-development unless you at the same time move outward into the world and its problems.

There is a lack of realism in the picture of the "harrassed politician," a pathetic figure, looking about for some worthy curer of the insane upon whom he may bestow his power!

J. HOLMES SMITH.

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### Out of Print

Please note that the following books are at present out of print:

*Is Conscience A Crime?* by Norman Thomas
*Encyclopedia of Pacifism,* by Aldous Huxley
*The War Myth in U. S. History,* by C. H. Hamlin
*The Power of Non-Violence,* by Richard Gregg

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